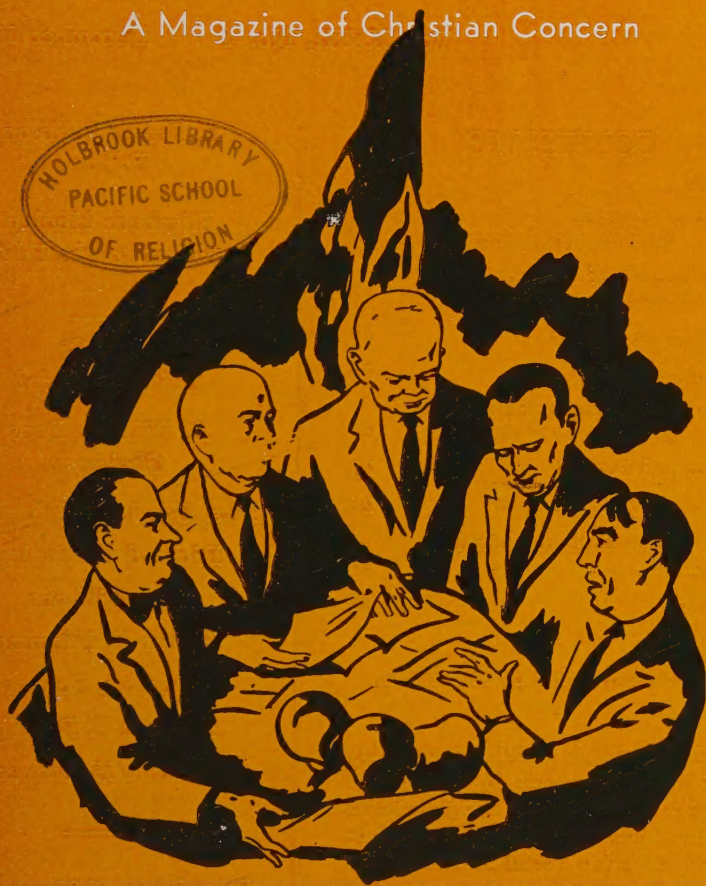


# Social Action

A Magazine of Christian Concern



"Now, Gentlemen, we're all in this together!"

## ELECTION AFTERMATH

F. Ernest Johnson

# Social Action

Vol. XXIII, No. 4

December 1956

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F. Ernest Johnson  
*Editor*

Elizabeth Henley  
*Assistant to the Editor*

---

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# Editorial

## Advent

It has always been true that faith employs imagination. Only so can it become "the substance of things hoped for." But Advent season in the year of our Lord 1956 makes a demand on the spiritual imagination of the followers of Christ that is perhaps without precedent in the entire Christian era.

The Incarnation is the central concept of Christian faith, and the church calendar provides for recurrent participation in this paramount religious event—the entrance of God into history. Only an inspired spiritual imagination can give reality to that experience in a time like this.

To this end Americans of every religious persuasion may well attend to the recent eloquent statement of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, portions of which we here reproduce:

"Once again in our time the alarm bell is ringing in the night. The World, injured as it is to tragedy, is apprised of tragedy still more profound. In the events of this hour at which the Bishops of the American hierarchy meet in annual session, they and all men concerned with human welfare under God read the threat of catastrophe so dire as to destroy the last bulwarks of civilization.

. . . . .

"It is not mere rhetoric to say that at this juncture the world is poised on the brink of disaster: it is grim

realism. Yet war in modern terms would be a nightmare of unimaginable horrors. It can only annihilate; it has no power to solve our problems. If, in the ultimate resort, it is the duty of man to resist naked aggression, still it is obvious that every possible means consistent with Divine law and human dignity must be employed and exhausted to avoid the final arbitrament of nuclear warfare. . . .

"Though the hour is late indeed, it is not yet too late. There is the Divinity which governs the destinies of this world, and the supreme folly is to leave God out of our reckoning. As the Bishops of the United States we solemnly call upon the faithful throughout the land to pledge themselves to a veritable crusade of prayer. Let it be for the specific ends that international sanity will triumph over war; that justice may be vindicated by the nations united under law; and that our own beloved country, under God, may lead the way to that better hope for all mankind. Nor let us forget those who have suffered and who suffer now; that out of the crucible of their sacrifice may come the minted gold of freedom."

## Capitalism and the Bible

Insistence that Christianity must not be identified with any one political or economic system is now a common theme in ecumenical Chris-



tianity. It seems safe to say that this principle has a very broad sanction in both Protestant and Roman Catholic circles.

By contrast, therefore, the following statement, which appeared recently in a publication mailed to large numbers of ministers, shows plainly that the opposing view is not without vigorous sponsorship:

Capitalism has been called many things by those in high and low places. Essentially, capitalism is the system of voluntary social cooperation that enables honest men to attain their greatest possible satisfactions by saving capital and serving their fellow men to the best of their differing abilities. As this column has previously shown, it is the only form of social cooperation that is consistent with Christian teachings. Every human action in deviation from the theory of capitalism is likewise a breaking of the Lord's Commandments. In the long run, all such actions are bound to fail.

This is without doubt sincere, but most ecumenical theologians would probably agree that it is idolatry. The writer takes over the Bible in the name of capitalism. And this judgment of the theologians is quite independent of one's economic philosophy whether it be capitalism or democratic socialism as represented by the present Opposition Party in Great Britain.

### **Business and Labor Unions**

In recent years it has become a commonplace that industry has accepted the principle of trade unionism and that the days of anti-union crusading are about over. To a very considerable extent this is true but now and then we are reminded that nothing of the sort may be taken for granted.

A few weeks ago, Cola G. Parker, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, was reported by the Associated Press as publicly declaring that "organized labor is boldly attempting to seize political control of the United States." Businessmen, he said, "sit like rabbits hypnotized by a snake, seemingly helpless to organize a program to defend the American political and economic system."

While there is good reason to believe that the head of the NAM was not speaking for American business when he used this inflammatory language, the making of such a speech gives organized labor a strong defense for its own militant opposition to "right-to-work" laws. It gives the unions all the argument they need to support their claim that unionism is still decidedly on the defensive and must keep its armor on. If business leaders believe labor to be a grievous threat to society it is doubtless their duty to say so, but the logic of the situation suggests that they should not be surprised when labor takes such talk as a declaration of war.

### **The H-Bomb Tests**

Perhaps nothing in the history of American politics has presented a sharper challenge to democratic theory and process than the issue that emerged late in the recent campaign over the banning of H-Bomb tests. Here is a highly technical matter, the essential knowledge of which is a natural monopoly and the disclosure of that knowledge largely a government monopoly. Yet the matter inevitably became a campaign

issue because moral convictions are so deeply involved on both sides.

The experts divide sharply—as experts usually do—not only on what the facts are but on the inferences to be drawn from them. To make matters more complicated, many people believe that the controversy was artificial and sinister in that the Administration itself had seriously considered proposing a ban on the tests, but felt obliged to oppose it vigorously as a matter of campaign strategy when the opposition brought it forward.

Disturbing also was the difficulty which the voters had in getting the issues stated intelligently and candidly. Much of the adverse comment on the proposal to discontinue testing implied that it was sheer naive reliance on a Russian pledge, whereas the essence of the matter was the possibility of detecting the explosion of a “big” bomb anywhere in the Soviet Union. This last assumption is of course debatable, but it should have been appraised on its merits.

In the final analysis the question seems to be one of evaluating a calculated risk: What are the human values at stake and how much risk do they warrant? Here ethics enters politics and technology. But no valid or viable solution is possible if we cannot be assured of a faithful presentation of the facts uncolored by political expediency.

### **Legislation and Social Change**

We publish in this issue a provocative article on the relation of law to progress. The subject has

been an especially hot one in this country since the repeal of national prohibition began to be a live issue. The writer stresses—correctly, we think—the factor of *acceptance* as crucial. The key question, of course, has to do with the extent to which the enactment of a measure—or its final validation by the courts—may actually increase acceptance. There is reason to think that in those areas of the country where the liquor traffic was most extensive the Volstead Act had a contrary effect. The same may be said of the Supreme Court's decision in the matter of segregation in the schools in *some communities*. But it seems equally true that in large geographic areas that decision and other court decrees of similar purport have occasioned a considerable modification of public mood. People said, “Well, that's that,” and got on with the day's work.

In sharp contrast with such situations is the occasional revival of “blue laws.” In New York City the press recently announced the conviction of a man for painting on Sunday the house of his mother-in-law, a minister's widow. The magistrate declared that the law prohibited all Sunday work except “for charity or necessity,” and that if the house had been his own it would have made no difference. One can readily imagine what a storm the following through of that legal philosophy would occasion.

The line between salutary, effective legislation and laws that breed defiance and even contempt is often hard to draw, but the effort

has to be made—sometimes under the painful conditions of trial and error.

### **Good—and not so Good**

While our readers have been rather distressingly silent about our efforts in October to interpret the election issues we had the not uncommon comforting experience of receiving two similar but contradictory letters. One said our October

issue was patently biased; the other commended its objectivity. It is often said that such criticisms of a publication — or a sermon — cancel each other out and give a basis for self-gratulation. We are not too sure about that.

Anyhow, we are returning to the subject this month in an effort to suggest the significance of what happened at the polls. Once more, your reactions, please.

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## **Religious Revival? . . .**

### **—Yes and No**

There is no doubt that we are experiencing the great religious renaissance in American history. However, there seems to be little evidence of increased personal morality. . . . To become a church member in America is easy, too easy! . . . It must be remembered, though, that in the Wesleyan Revival of the 18th century there was a time lag of nearly a quarter of a century between the preaching . . . and the impact on the social life of Britain.

—BILLY GRAHAM

\* \* \* \*

There is no great religious revival in America and probably will not be in the accepted sense. . . . But there is a great revival of interest. . . . Religion has a better hearing, and less open opposition. . . . [But] the extension of church membership . . . should not be allowed to obscure the present state of the world. . . . At this time of the greatest need, the influence of religion on human affairs appears to be indirect, and, all told, rather minimal.

—LISTON POPE



# Election Aftermath

By F. Ernest Johnson

THE TASK of "interpreting" the national elections of 1956 is in one respect rendered relatively easy. The patent and indisputable fact is that the personal prestige and popularity of General Eisenhower overshadowed everything else. It is scarcely necessary, therefore, to attempt a tracing of cause and effect with reference to the specific issues that were debated during the campaign. The pro-Stevenson editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* recently put it this way: "The great Eisenhower love affair with millions of Americans continues with all the heat and passion of one of the old-fashioned romantic novels. The President basks in it."

By the same token, however, the influence upon the election of the world-shaking events which followed one another in quick succession during the few days preceding the election looms large because they seem to have definitely increased the President's political strength. Likewise, the personal aspect of the Eisenhower victory throws into sharp relief the Democratic success in keeping control of Congress, which was nothing short of amazing. The past 108 years afford no precedent for the

retention of control of both houses of Congress by the party which in the same year lost a presidential election.

Thus, while the President's phenomenal personal command of popular loyalty gives an aspect of simplicity to the situation, it confronts us with questions that have profound implications for the political future of the nation.

## What Does "Liking Ike" Mean?

Moreover, the concept of personal "popularity," or "prestige," needs to be examined, for there is no such thing as personal approval devoid of content in terms of some context of contemporary events. "I like Ike" presumably means that the man or woman who so affirms "likes Ike *because . . .*" and the sentence can be variously completed: because he stopped the war, or is a "real American," or believes in individual freedom, etc. *Mere* liking, generated by smiles and handshakes, is a factor, but only an auxiliary factor. Nothing is better attested than the changeableness of the popular mood with respect to public figures.

As one brilliant writer has put it, "The British and French 'like

Ike' but they did not follow his leadership. Israel 'likes Ike' but it rejected his appeals. Bulganin 'likes Ike' but his tanks are ringed around Budapest."

Again, to assign great importance to personal prestige in the Eisenhower triumph is not a mere gesture toward the "father image." For example, many of us were troubled in 1952 by the apparently tremendous effect of Mr. Eisenhower's dramatic pledge to "go to Korea." But we may have overlooked the fact that though the settlement his Administration effected was nothing to get excited about—nothing that Mr. Truman might not have approved—Mr. Eisenhower was able to secure a public acceptance of terms that the country would not, at that time, have accepted from Mr. Truman. Even the "cult of personality" has its legitimate uses.

## IMPACT OF WORLD EVENTS

The irony of history could scarcely be more strikingly portrayed than by the apparent impact on the election of the current crises in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. The Democrats had gone all out to make a case against the Administration's foreign policy. The picture of an increasingly pacified world—"good news from Suez," the forcing of the Soviet Union to change her warlike policy, and so forth—the Democrats attacked as lacking any basis in fact. On the face of it, the sudden invasion of Egypt and the brutal crushing of the Hungarian revolt by Russian tanks documented the claims of the Democrats. Some of the calmest and most disinterested

observers have been in agreement that the net result of American foreign policy has been very disquieting. In the light of such reporting the catastrophic events in the Middle East should not have caused surprise. As Sulzberger wrote in the *New York Times*: "Our policy in the Middle East and Eastern Europe was simply not clear enough to ourselves to enable us to make it clear to others. Thus we could not warn in advance of the probable consequences, as far as we were concerned, of any ill-considered action."

The Opposition lost no time in seeking to make capital out of these startling developments. But the evidence indicates that these shocking events actually *increased* the President's political strength. "If there is going to be trouble," the prevailing reaction seemed to be, "this is no time for a change."

It is not improbable that this reaction is typical of democratic political behavior in a country like ours. Indeed, it has been credibly reported that Mr. Stevenson himself was expecting it and had anticipated his defeat. Seasoned observers are saying that no Democrat—and no other Republican—could have won under all the existing circumstances.

## OTHER FACTORS

This is not to suggest that if nothing disturbing had occurred abroad Mr. Eisenhower would not have won decisively. "Prosperity" is today a palpable fact, in spite of the "pockets" of unemployment. (Employment in October reached the peak of 66,200,000, with unemployment



down to 1,900,000.) The "farm revolt" was, it now appears, less extensive than the Democrats convinced themselves it was, and more incipient than full blown. The thoroughly confused situation over civil rights seems to have cut into the Negro vote to the detriment of Mr. Stevenson, but to have left the Southern whites undisturbed, to Mr. Eisenhower's advantage. Indeed, Norman Thomas has remarked that the Democrats carried "the worst states," in respect to liberalism. Labor's crusade on behalf of the Democratic standard-bearer appears to have made something less than a profound impression on rank and file union membership — though labor probably had a considerable influence on Congressional elections and on some gubernatorial contests.

All these factors appear to have been influential at the presidential level chiefly in sluicing off opposition into other channels, leaving Mr. Eisenhower's path fairly clear of obstacles. It is obviously of the essence of a great personal triumph that all manner of inconsistency appears when the results are scrutinized in terms of issues. One of the best known Republican columnists wrote soon after the conventions: "Looking back at the presidential campaigns of the past it is interesting to note that again and again the better man did not win, but the better issues did." This time it is hard to find any clear verdict on issues at all in the vote for the presidency except as issues may be said to be symbolized in the man.

## THE CONGRESSIONAL PICTURE

Coming back to the anomaly of an Eisenhower landslide and the maintenance of control of Congress by the Democrats, we are confronted by a great paradox. The press comments point it up.

Said the *New York Times* on Nov. 8: "Confidence in Mr. Eisenhower himself, rather than confidence in the Republican party, emerges as the dominant factor in this election." On the same page Arthur Krock's column was headed: "A Mandate for a Man and Denied to His Party."

The *Philadelphia Bulletin* said: "This election was a personal triumph for President Eisenhower. It was not a blanket endorsement of the Republican party as such."

The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* commented: "We must hope that the President will turn his personal magnetism to the task of rebuilding and revitalizing the party along his own lines."

The *Wilmington News* said: "It is plain that the voters have a great deal more confidence in the President than they have in his fellow Republicans."

In Washington, D. C., *The Star* had this to say: "Nothing mattered to the voters except that they liked, wanted and were determined to have Ike. His age, his heart attack, his operation—these counted for little or nothing. The second major conclusion to be drawn is that while the President is tremendously popular, the Republican party is not."

Commenting on the President's interpretation of the result the At-

lanta *Journal* demurred: "In his victory message, Mr. Eisenhower said America has approved modern Republicanism. This is doubtful. It is not borne out by the voting in the Senate and House races." Said the *Chicago Tribune*: "President Eisenhower's victory was a personal one, not a party success."

Another pointed comment on the President's election-night statement was that of the *Detroit Free Press*: "To a certain extent we must disagree with Mr. Eisenhower. Only the most enthusiastic Republican die-hard will proclaim success for the G.O.P. It was an Eisenhower victory; not a Republican victory, modern or otherwise."

### A "Topsy-Turvy" Picture

Finally, we may note Mr. Krock's analysis in the column above referred to. One paragraph reads: "The politicians probably will still cling to the delusion that split ticket voting is only an occasional phenomenon and not a hardening form of political behavior in the United States. The Democrats explain it this year by the 'cult of personality' argument, and they can produce figures in support. But if that were the whole explanation of the topsy-turvy results of yesterday, why did the voting majority, in enough states to produce an opposition Congress, turn deaf ears to the President's plea? The sharp variations of a 'cult of personality' were plain in Oregon, where a majority of more than 60,000 voted the President four more years in the White House and by more than 50,000 returned his bitterest political opponent [Senator Morse] to a Senate so narrowly di-

vided that this one vote can frustrate a vital Presidential program."

The mixed results of the gubernatorial elections add to the topsyturviness of this memorable campaign.

It is in point to record here Mr. Eisenhower's comment at his press conference after he had had opportunity to digest the election results. In response to a direct question about the significance of the election of a Democratic-controlled Congress he said: "From my viewpoint the United States has not yet been convinced that modern Republicanism is with us and is going to be the guiding philosophy of the Republican Party."

### THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION

A baffling feature of the campaign has been the discussion of the President's health. A few facts now stand out clearly:

1. Disparagement of such discussion was unwise and futile. Mr. Eisenhower, in contrast to many others, seems to have recognized its relevance and to have accepted it in good part.

2. It is futile to expect that testimony of medical men in such a situation will settle a sharp controversy. The doctors' contribution, however competent and sincere, had to be made through a sort of political screen and was not very satisfactory.

3. The real issue here was not one of life expectancy. The precarious hold on life of very active men is documented daily, and humans in all categories seem fairly inured to it. The real point was stated bluntly—critically, but in non-parti-

san fashion—by Walter Lippmann. Writing late in the campaign, he said that “the crucial issues of the Presidential contest have been allowed to lie under, though just under, the surface of the campaign.” These issues, he said, “are not farm parities, big business in government, or even the hydrogen bomb tests and foreign policy. The crucial issues arise from the fundamental fact that Eisenhower’s leadership and control of the Republican party depend uniquely on his own personality, on his own active presence, and therefore on his health and his energies.

“General Eisenhower’s great default, which is, I believe, the central issue of the Presidential contest, is that he has not provided carefully and reliably for a successor.”

Again, the appraisal of Mr. Nixon here implied is something that transcends personal liking or disliking. It has a moral quality.

### Frankness and Faith

In a Christian journal it should be possible to be both frank and “belief-ful” in dealing with a question that is at once delicate and of surpassing importance. Indeed, secular discussions of political personalities during this campaign have included a religious note. A prominent Republican spokesman, facing a battery of reporters, was challenged on account of Senator McCarthy and by way of reply said that he believed in the possibility of spiritual regeneration. The *New York Times*, in its now celebrated editorial endorsing the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket, made some pointed criticisms of the Administration’s

record, and followed them with this paragraph:

“Let us add here, as another of the things that have not gone the way we wish they might have gone, the nomination of Mr. Nixon as his party’s candidate for the Vice Presidency. On Mr. Nixon’s behalf, we think it is fair to say that he has worked hard in his present office, that he has grown with it, that he has been a good ambassador for the United States in his foreign travels and that he has conducted in 1956 a more moderate and more honorable campaign than he made in earlier years. But the memory of the divisive tactics of those earlier campaigns lingers, and Mr. Nixon’s career has certainly not revealed much evidence of deeply rooted and consistently held principles. Party strategy, rather than party policy, has been Mr. Nixon’s chief concern.”

The references in the last sentences were presumably, at least in large part, to the methods Mr. Nixon had used to win elections. However, the *Times*, too, was prepared to make a venture of faith.

Politically, the outstanding fact seems to be that the electorate preponderantly decided that it was ready to accept Mr. Nixon as president, should grievous misfortune decree his succession. A minority, no doubt, representing the hard core of the opposition to Mr. Eisenhower’s original candidacy, voted for Mr. Nixon with more satisfaction than for the President.

The ultimate significance of all such appraisals is, of course, in Mr. Nixon’s own keeping.



## A DIVIDED GOVERNMENT

What becomes now of all the anticipated evils of a Democratic Congress combined with a Republican Administration? It is one of the anomalies of "separation of powers" in our government—so hard for a European to understand—that a president who is a candidate for reelection is impelled to speak and act as if an opposition Congress would hopelessly cramp his style—and, when this dreaded outcome eventuates, hastens to proclaim that he is going to be everybody's president and to work with an opposition Congress to that end.

It is, of course, distressingly true that an administration can be one long wrangle with Congress. David Lawrence wrote in his newspaper column during the campaign:

"When the Congress is in the hands of one party and the Presidency is in the other, there is constant friction, and the public interest suffers. There is a chance then for the passage only of the legislation which can command a compromise—and usually even such bills are weakened and diluted just to get votes from both parties."

Mr. Lawrence was writing as an ardent Eisenhower advocate. As an astute political observer he knows, of course, that much federal legislation now involves this kind of compromise. Indeed the most conspicuous political fact in America—now emphasized and dramatized by the elections—is that both major parties are faction-ridden and are continually preoccupied with the balancing of interests, the reconciling of deep dif-

ferences, and the making of disappointing and precarious compromises.

## A New Situation

To an appreciable degree, however, the present situation is new. It is a matter of common knowledge that Mr. Eisenhower has been in conflict with prominent Republican leaders, though open feuding has been avoided. There would seem to be no reason why he should not, out of an indubitable desire to serve the whole nation and the world, unhampered by any concern for reelection, "go to town" with a Democratic Congress. Suppose that he were to take the initiative by a disarming bid for cooperation in promoting the ends which his "New Republicanism" and Adlai Stevenson's "New America" have in common—would not the country demand compliance by the Democratic leaders in Congress?

The elections just held have highlighted this new political situation. For example, Roscoe Drummond, one of the most noted Washington correspondents, has written: "The magnitude of the President's personal victory should give Mr. Eisenhower the political power, if he uses it vigorously, to carry forward his principal objectives.

"The magnitude of the Democratic party victory—in the Senate, in the House, in the governorships—will give the Democrats a nearly co-equal voice in national affairs and guarantees that it will be in a highly advantageous position as it prepares for the elections in 1958 and 1960."

## A "NEW" PARTY?

The *New York Herald-Tribune*, two days after the election, said editorially:

"The challenge to the Republican party is spelled out in box-car letters. It is to reshape itself as a modern party, an Eisenhower Republican party of ideas and popular appeal which seizes opportunity and responsibility. . . . President Eisenhower has set the pace; now let all the Eisenhower Republicans buckle down and reconstitute the party for complete victory the next time out."

It is not too much to say that such an election has revolutionary implications. The Alsop Brothers have recalled that Mr. Eisenhower "has often said to friends that his chief reason for running again was that he needed four more years to remake his party so that it would again be the majority party in the nation." Thomas L. Stokes, in his column the day after the election, said of the President:

"He succeeded in separating himself from his party, in which he has found himself often facing so many dissenters. That was by design—by his own design and that of his party. The party, of course, has not changed. It still is split and unable to agree on major issues, both domestic and international, just as four years ago and during the whole of the administration. That will become evident again, as soon as Congress gets down to work. An election could not change that any more than the leopard can change its spots."

All of which brings to mind a piece by Walter Lippmann early in

October. He commented on the lack of any very fundamental differences between the two big parties: "The new Republicanism which the President proclaimed at the San Francisco convention does not challenge, indeed it accepts and proposes to extend, all the big innovations which were made by Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. This covers not only the vast structure of the new welfare state, the Federal protection of agriculture, the regulation of business and of banking, but also that most far-reaching of reforms within the western capitalist order—the acceptance of Federal responsibility for full employment and for the management of the business cycle."

By the events of history, he pointed out, rather than by any ideological development, the Democrats have, ironically, become the heirs of the old Federalist Party. They have been the "innovators," notably under the leadership of Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. The role of the Republicans has become that of the agents of "correction" and "consolidation."

Mr. Lippmann saw at that time "substantial evidence" that the country was approaching another "innovating phase," the third in this century. He concluded:

"Once again, regardless of how the Presidential election comes out, the Democrats seem destined to become the agents of these innovations. For while President Eisenhower would like to give the Republicans that role, there is little evidence that the Republicans who

will succeed him are much concerned with it."

We shall see.

### "108 Years Later"

Under this novel editorial caption the Scripps-Howard *World-Telegram and Sun* (New York) compared the elections of 1956 and 1848:

"The Whigs of that day refused to face up to the issue of freedom or slavery. The choice before the Republicans of today is not dissimilar, although the scope is enlarged from nation-wide to world-wide.

"Since Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations, after World War I, Republicans have been divided. World War II also ended with Democrats in office and Republicans in opposition.

"What Republicans have yet to face up to is that they are the party with executive power. Can they also get their party to admit responsibility?"

### ROLE OF THE "INDEPENDENTS"

For ethically disposed persons—in the context of politics—the changing scene raises profound questions. *Life* magazine, in a preelection editorial called for a "people's election": "Besides getting out a bigger vote this year, both parties ought to be trying to locate those 38.6 million Americans who would be willing to work for their parties and set them to ringing doorbells looking for the 17.1 million families who are willing to give \$5. But even if the doorbell doesn't ring, every citizen ought to make it his own responsibility to send a contribution to his party,

just as he would give one to his church or to the Red Cross."

This is exalting, not merely the act of voting, but political activity within a party, to the level of a religious performance. It is in line with current Protestant thinking, especially among younger theologians.

Yet the recent election gave an enormous amount of evidence that the great parties are too conglomerate with respect to principles and interests to inspire much crusading—except on the part of real innovators! Moreover, most of us have grown up under the influence of a moral individualism that puts a premium upon independent voting and even makes strong party loyalty somewhat suspect. On balance, an election like this one gives little impetus to the young voter in the direction of moral crusading under a party banner. Probably ticket splitting has come to have for most Christian voters the character of a moral obligation.

It is interesting to note that the *Wall Street Journal*, in editorial comment on the election, said:

"Henceforth it will not be enough for a candidate to plaster on a party label and then rely upon that, and the party organization, to win. Each candidate must make his own impression upon the voters. . . .

"If the voters have permanently abandoned party voting the effect on our party structure is obvious. But . . . in what is the more likely event—that the mass of voters feel abandoned by a party system that does not meet their needs—the results could be revolutionary."



## "DOING THE TRUTH"

SOCIAL ACTION referred editorially in October to the Code of Fair Campaign Practices. The campaign was not very inspiring in this respect. David Lawrence called on the clergymen of the country to urge adherence to truth in campaigning:

"What the American people would like in this season to hear on Sundays from the teachers of truth is something that the parishioners can take to heart on all days of the week—something that proclaims how the Christian ethic and philosophy is violated nowadays by the politicians who sacrifice principle and truth just to get elected."

Mr. Lawrence was aiming, apparently, at Democratic practices whose unethical character he thought could be taken for granted. But the melancholy fact is that good, conscientious, churchgoing citizens are always in disagreement, when the issue is a hot one, as to what the truth *is*. Indeed, one of the severest charges made against the Administration was an alleged failure to give the people the plain truth about what was happening, especially on the international scene. Perhaps it is better for all of us to examine without censoriousness the patterns of political behavior, regardless of party affiliation, that seem to put dissembling, and even falsification, at a premium.

To take a relatively harmless but instructive illustration, is it essential to the effective conduct of a political campaign that a candidate proclaim his complete assurance that he is winning when he is reasonably certain, and knows that both his

supporters and his foes are convinced, that he is about to be slaughtered? This kind of talk sometimes becomes so childish that one is disposed to condemn it on grounds of common sense, to say nothing of morals.

It is argued that a sort of invincible confidence is necessary in order to maintain morale in a hard contest. But what kind of courage is it that peters out when the hazards loom large? It has been said that the breath-taking setback the Republicans had in Maine last September was the best thing that could have happened to them. They began to "run scared." Does not confident prediction of victory when the experts of both parties are convinced that the tide is running strong the other way result in cumulative futility? And does it not make for cynicism with respect to political morals?

## EGG-HEADS AND HOI POLLOI

Another question, related to the foregoing, intrudes itself in the aftermath of this campaign, one which has both practical and ethical significance. Perhaps after a four-year interval one may say without the appearance of partisanship that Adlai Stevenson's effort in 1952 to "talk sense to the American people" made a strong impression on men and women of contrasting political beliefs. It was, as James Reston said, a "high-minded" performance. The same astute observer found a less than enthusiastic response to Mr. Stevenson's addresses this year among college students than he found four years ago. Apparently

his attempt to use "approved" campaign methods—including some Truman-style barnstorming—misfired. To those whom he had once really inspired he now seemed out of character.

Interestingly enough, when the fight was over the old Stevenson reappeared to speak his 1956 valedictory. It was as if he were a bit relieved to be out of the campaign strait jacket and strictly on his own, as he spoke from his heart. He had never doubted the greatness of his cause, but he submitted to supposed requirements of successful campaigning—exaggeration, disproportionate emphasis, and even a touch of unbecoming invective—that were alien to the image of him created by previous performance.

We may well reflect on this campaign with a view to learning more about what the essentials of a political appeal are in a democracy which has a high level of literacy. Singling out Mr. Stevenson in this connection implies only that he has been a striking example of a first-class mind being forced into a conventional pattern—common to both parties—in which high reason, exact statement, and fine ethical discrimination tend to become expendable. When he came on the political scene he lighted a torch in whose glow even his own performance—patterned, if this analysis is correct, under inexorable demands—must itself be examined.

At the same time, many persons who voted for Mr. Eisenhower will doubtless concur in an opinion expressed by the celebrated commentator, Eric Sevareid. He said that

"while it was to the incumbent that the people turned to lead the world back to peace, it was the challenger who was proved to be profoundly right about the unreal nature of the world peace we had thought we were enjoying."

## THE H-BOMB ISSUE

The fate of the issue raised by Mr. Stevenson concerning the "big bomb" will very likely seem tragic to the historians of our times. Politically, it may be dismissed as a campaign error, since a proposal that involves technical judgments about which experts disagree, and which cuts across vested political interests has two strikes against it at the start. The tendency of critics to distort it was as inevitable as it is lamentable. As fully elaborated it made sense. Whether or not the Administration had actually, as is rumored, contemplated something of the sort remains obscure. But with the heat of campaigning past the idea may get a hearing. At least it is bound to become known whether or not a big-bomb explosion can infallibly be detected and located. If so, even a unilateral renunciation of all testing—admittedly dangerous—of this hideous weapon *until another power demonstrates its unwillingness to follow suit* becomes hopefully discussible.

"If we would really discover our greatest strengths," Norman Cousins writes in *The Saturday Review*, "we can take a moral position which says that we would rather die ourselves from a weapon which smashes at the nature of man than to use it on others; a position which sees the in-

dividual human being on this earth as the possessor of the only sovereignty that counts—the kind of sovereignty that assures his genetic integrity, that entitles him to clean air and a good earth.”

Mr. Cousins speaks here, as is his wont, in the role of prophet. Not strategy, but morality, is what interests him. Yet who can set limits to what history may have in store? A few weeks ago Walter Lippmann wrote:

“What we must do is to keep in mind, a good part of the time no doubt in the back of our minds, the central idea that an order of things is dissolving and that a new order to follow it is now waiting to be conceived, and then brought into being.”

### THE PRESIDENT'S ROLE

Clinton Rossiter, author of *The American Presidency*, contributed an

article on Presidential leadership to the *New York Times Magazine* of November 11. Some of its pungent sentences are relevant here:

“The President is not one kind of leader one part of the day, another kind in another part—leader of the bureaucracy in the morning, of the armed forces at lunch, of Congress in the afternoon, of the people in the evening. He exerts every kind of leadership every moment of the day, and every kind feeds upon and into all the others. . . .

“The Presidency, like every other instrument of power we have created for use, operates within a grand and durable pattern of private liberty and public morality, which means that the President can lead successfully only when he honors the pattern—by working toward ends to which a ‘persistent and undoubted’ majority of the people has given support, and by selecting means that are fair, dignified and familiar.”

## Voting Record of Re-elected Congressmen

IN JULY, 1956, the Council for Social Action cooperated in distributing the leaflet entitled “The Christian Citizen Looks at the 84th Congress” in which were recorded the voting records of members of that Congress on “selected key issues.” In the preparation of this number of SOCIAL ACTION a check has been made of the records therein shown of the members of both

Houses who were re-elected on November 6.

### House of Representatives

Nine bills were included from the calendar of the House of Representatives: Housing Act; Reciprocal Trade Extension; Social Security; Minimum Wage; Technical Assistance; Agricultural Act; Natural Gas;



Foreign Aid; and School Aid.<sup>1</sup> The affirmative and negative votes were classified as essentially liberal or anti-liberal—depending on the nature and form of the respective proposals—and tabulated as follows:

<i>No. of Liberal Votes</i>	<i>No. of Con- gressmen</i>
9	28
8	59
7	51
6	48
5	43
4	48
3	63
2	35
1	7
0	4

Thus it appears (disregarding possible minor errors in reporting) that of the 386 representatives in the 84th Congress who were re-elected on November 6, 229 had a record of better than 50 per cent, while 157 rated lower than 50 per cent.

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1. In the leaflet ten measures were included from the legislative program of each House. However, because of certain possible ambiguities only nine of the Lower House and seven of the Upper House bills are included in the present account.

## The Senate

The seven Senate bills included in this tabulation were: Housing Act; Reciprocal Trade; International Labor Organization; Foreign Aid; Agricultural Act; Natural Gas; and Niagara Power. The result is as follows:

<i>No. of Liberal Votes</i>	<i>No. of Senators</i>
7	0
6	4
5	3
4	5
3	4
2	2
1	7
0	0

This means that 12 of the 25 re-elected senators scored better than 50 per cent on the liberal scale, and 13 fell below that mark.

All such ratings have a somewhat arbitrary character and the groupings have an odd appearance. The irregularity is presumably due to the fact that diverse factors—especially local and regional issues—were involved in the several measures, so that they do not yield a true opinion scale.

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I have all faith in the American people when they are fully informed and free to act.

—WOODROW WILSON

## T. S. Eliot on Politics

I VENTURE to put forward the suggestion that political thinking, that is, thinking that concerns itself with the permanent principles, if any, underlying a party name, can follow two contrasted lines of development. At the beginning may be a body of doctrine, perhaps a canonical work; and a band of devoted people set out to disseminate and popularize this doctrine through its emotional appeal to the interested and the disinterested; and then, as a political party, endeavor to realize a program based on the doctrine. Before arriving at the position of governing, they have envisaged some final state of society of which their doctrines give the outline. The theory has altogether preceded the practice.

But political ideas may come into being by an opposite process. A political party may find that it has had a history, before it is fully aware of or agreed upon its own permanent tenets; it may have arrived at its actual formation through a succession of metamorphoses and adaptations, during which some issues have been superannuated and new issues have arisen. What its fundamental tenets are, will probably be found only by careful examination of its behavior throughout its history and by examination of what its more thoughtful and philosophic minds

have said on its behalf; and only accurate historical knowledge and judicious analysis will be able to discriminate between the permanent and the transitory; between those doctrines and principles which it must ever, and in all circumstances, maintain, or manifest itself a fraud, and those called forth by special circumstances, which are only intelligible and justifiable in the light of those circumstances.

Of the two, the latter type seems to me the more likely to correspond to that preference of the organic over the mechanical that Burke maintained: but each has its peculiar dangers.

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I confess, however, that I am not myself very much concerned with the question of influence, or with those publicists who have impressed their names upon the public by catching the morning tide, and rowing very fast in the direction in which the current was flowing; but rather that there should always be a few writers preoccupied in penetrating to the core of the matter, in trying to arrive at the truth and to set it forth, without too much hope, without ambition to alter the immediate course of affairs, and without being downcast or defeated when nothing appears to ensue.

—From *The Literature of Politics*

## Those Non-Voters

*Last month we commented editorially on the merits of all-out efforts to "get out the vote." Now comes forward the noted historian, Henry Steele Commager, with an illuminating analysis of the whole problem of non-participation in voting in a democracy (New York Times Magazine, October 28, 1956). His facts and opinions make perhaps more timely reading during the aftermath of the elections.*

"In the United States," says Mr. Commager. "the people rule" is a hackneyed phrase in our political vocabulary. But the depressing truth is that the people don't rule, not in any active fashion, at least. Just about half of them rule; the rest don't get around to it." In presidential years the record, he points out, is a bit better, but even at the peak, in 1952, not quite 63 per cent of the qualified voters cast their ballots.

American voting is in contrast with that in Britain and Sweden where over 75 per cent of the voters participate in elections; with Denmark, France, and Western Germany, which have more than 80 per cent participation; and in startling contrast with Holland and Belgium, where the record is over 90 per cent.

What inference is to be drawn from these facts? Well, it may be noted first that Mr. Commager does not follow the popular line: "Voting is, we are told almost daily, a political duty; it is a moral duty; it is a religious duty; those who fail to vote

are in a sense traitors and saboteurs, and moral lepers as well. This is a bit excessive." He goes on to point out that this Republic "has survived and flourished for a century and a half with roughly the same voting pattern we now have." Moreover, the European countries which have a better voting record cannot be said to be proportionately better off in political terms than we are.

### The Why of It

Indeed, our distinguished historian finds a rational explanation—though not an extenuation—of nonvoting in so far as it is due to apathy rather than to actual impediments such as those created by election and registration laws. Political apathy in America is, after all, the apathy of contentment, not of hopelessness. Moreover, it is of the essence of our two-party system that it is "not wracked by dissension, by deep political cleavages, by class warfare, by religious controversies, by religious fears and jealousies, or even by deep political differences." While cleavages and hostilities exist, they



do not as a rule reflect differences between the political parties. As a result, political activity is not at a premium in a system like ours.

It follows that there should be no resort to compulsory voting, which might give us more, but not better, voters; nor any effort to "make a moral issue or a religious issue out of voting and nonvoting." In a democracy "the right to vote carries with it the right not to vote."

### What Should Be Done?

Mr. Commager would remove some obvious impediments to voting so that those who really care about the franchise will be able to use it

with a minimum of difficulty. This applies to poll taxes and to artificial residence requirements and even, he thinks, to literacy tests, which "have not perceptibly improved the quality of voting anywhere" and which lend themselves to serious abuses.

Permanent registration he unqualifiedly approves. Proportional representation for all groups of voters would correct a weakness in the two-party system by giving a voice, as multi-party systems do, to minorities. Government financing of elections has become a pressing issue since elections now "cost so much that neither parties nor candidates can afford them."

## Law as an Instrument of Progress

*By Dorothy Warm*

THE LAW and social progress are interdependent; in most cases it is difficult, if not impossible, to tell which came first. As social thinking develops and matures, laws gradually and almost imperceptibly mature. By the same token, as legislation improves, a gradual change takes place in social thinking.

Morroe Berger has suggested in *Equality by Statute* that the social climate can be changed by liberal and even revolutionary legislation—that progressive social legislation, originally counter to the thinking

of large segments of the population, gains acceptance of the principle which it codifies merely from its existence as part of the law.

While this is sometimes true, it is a generalization that must be modified. The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, for example, rushed through during a postwar period, never really gained public acceptance. The Fourteenth Amendment has been basic law for some ninety years. Yet its original purpose has never been adhered to in spirit by the Southern white populace and eventually, when the Supreme Court's anti-segregation rulings gave it real meaning in that context, many of the Southern states have

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Mrs. Warm is Administrative Assistant in the Department of Social Welfare, National Council of Churches.

threatened everything short of secession to circumvent the ruling.

On the other hand, the nineteenth century women's enabling legislation, the women's suffrage amendment, certain features of the Roosevelt New Deal's social program, and, to a more limited extent, the Sixteenth Amendment (income tax), and the federal estate tax have on the whole received public acceptance.

One cannot conclude that mere enactment, without reasoned and continued acceptance, brings tolerance for any measure for which there has been intolerance. It can be only one step in a program of education in which many other processes take place.

### **Social Work and Social Reform**

In this process of education, however, the role of the social worker becomes more and more apparent. Too frequently we think of the social worker as a practitioner, conscientiously intent upon his own sphere of activity—the particular or specific service he renders through his agency to the client. In actuality, however, there should be no limitation upon his social thinking. While in his agency relationship he must be concerned with the impact of economic, educational, and health factors upon his client, he must be equally concerned with the underlying determinants of these factors. To commiserate with a client about inadequate housing is useless; to aid him in finding better housing benefits only the one client and makes for no permanency; but to support, militantly and aggressively, the legis-

lation that will ultimately improve the nation's housing as a whole makes a lasting contribution to the community far beyond the limited services of the social work practitioner. Merely to ameliorate living conditions or to teach a person how to live within a society which must seem to him hostile because of its inherent defects is not to encourage progress.

Social work is not separable from social reform. This has been proven throughout centuries during which the word "reformer" was both known and suspect to the populace. It has always been true that social legislation created the conditions which permit and foster positive social living.

Charles Schottland has said (National Conference of Social Work, 1953) that the major issues affecting the future of social work are being fought out in the political arena. It is the duty of the social worker to play an active, aggressive, and militant role in the political scene. More than anyone else, the social worker knows the facts. It is he who is daily confronted with the basic ills of society—inadequate income, bad housing, lack of medical attention, discriminatory employment practices, over-crowded schools, mental health problems disregarded by the community at large, medieval correctional institutions, and a host of other social evils which must be brought to the attention of the legislators before positive action can be taken.

I said originally that legislation does not necessarily bring accept-

ance. Indeed it is evident that legislation changes the social climate only if the efforts of the reformer continue. His responsibility does not end with ministering to specific need, as expected of him by his

agency, but demands that he relate himself to the broader aspect of the picture. Once he eliminates a specific obstacle to the performance of his professional functions, he can then go on to other needed reforms.

## “Houses and People”

IT WAS the announced intention of the Editorial Board of SOCIAL ACTION to publish this month a major article on housing. Since that decision was taken, however, an impressive discussion of this topic has been published by the Social Welfare Department of the National Council of Churches in a pamphlet bearing the title “Houses and People.” It is a study guide for church use, prepared by Margaret E. Kuhn, Associate Secretary, Department of Social Education and Action, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church, USA. The CSA is cooperating in the distribution of the pamphlet, which sells at 30 cents a copy.

Miss Kuhn has assembled pertinent statistics on housing needs and shortages, and housing costs in relation to personal income; analyzed various housing programs, public and private; pictured the results of race segregation in housing; listed useful resource material for study groups; and supplied a novel and very useful glossary of housing terms and a directory of agencies.

“The plain facts are,” says Miss Kuhn, “that our housing problems can be met only by comprehensive, long-range master plans that citizens, builders, realtors, bankers, investors,

and Government agencies work out together. Housing experts agree that coordinated balanced planning includes total redevelopment and slum clearance, new public and private building, the integration of neighborhoods, as well as rehabilitation and enforcement of housing and building codes.”

“Redevelopment” and “urban renewal” are key words in the vocabulary of housing, and for the accomplishment of these ends government aid at all levels is necessary. Miss Kuhn quotes from the *Housing Yearbook, 1956* a list of major obstacles:

1. Cumbersome procedures and inadequate staff within the Urban Renewal Administration of the Federal Government.
2. Not enough action at local and state levels.
3. Difficulties in relocating nonwhite families.
4. Lack of low-rent public housing for relocating low-income families.
5. Inadequate planning by cities and states.

The author adds this striking comment:

“Most of these reasons are local, the editors believe. The sins of Washington are widely publicized, but the really serious roadblocks are in local communities.”



## Labor and Political Action

The Yardstick—Catholic Tests of a Social Order (*National Catholic Welfare Conference*) devoted its issue of November 12 to the topic "Labor and Political Action." The writer is Msgr. George G. Higgins, one of the ablest and best informed interpreters of the labor movement. We are printing the release in full below.

THIS COLUMN, although written before November 6, was deliberately withheld for publication until after the national election lest the writer be mistakenly accused of getting involved in partisan politics. Let us hope that those of our readers who disagree with the column will be guided accordingly in the composition of their letters to the editor.

So much for partisan politics!

Even before the election and regardless of its outcome, several things can be said with almost absolute certainty about the subject of labor and political action. In the first place, organized labor in the United States is in politics to stay. Secondly, political action will be regarded by organized labor in the future, as it has been in the past, as secondary to collective bargaining as a means of achieving its basic goals. Thirdly, organized labor, while favoring one party more than another in any given election, has been and will continue to be non-partisan in the field of political action.

### No Labor Party

In other words, the labor movement will steadfastly refuse, for practical as well as theoretical reasons, to become the property or the pawn of either the Democratic or the Republican party. With varying degrees of success or failure—and with equally varying degrees of practical wisdom or prudence—it will continue to follow the traditional principle of supporting its friends and opposing its enemies, regardless of their political affiliation.

And, last but not least, the labor movement will not establish a separate political party of its own unless it feels compelled to do so in sheer desperation, in the unlikely event of a disastrous political or economic crisis of national proportions.

Now that the AFL-CIO have come together in a single federation, it is more important than ever before to understand their political philosophy as summarized, however briefly and inadequately, in the above four points. A more adequate summary is provided in a new book entitled *AFL-CIO: Labor United*, by Arthur

Goldberg, former General Counsel of the old CIO and one of the principal architects of the recent merger of the AFL-CIO (McGraw-Hill, \$5.00).

### **Dispels Fear**

In the opinion of the present writer, Mr. Goldberg is one of the truly great statesmen associated with the American labor movement, and certainly, by any standard one of the most authoritative experts on the background and future implications of the merger. His book is enthusiastically recommended, not only to professional students of the labor problem but to the general public as well. No other recent publication is better calculated to dispel the imaginary fears which so many well-intentioned American citizens mistakenly entertain about the allegedly dangerous influence of the American labor movement in the field of political action.

The following excerpts from Mr. Goldberg's analysis of the recent merger are particularly significant, not merely because they confirm the present writer's "prejudices" or opinions as summarized above, but because they undoubtedly reflect with almost perfect accuracy the thinking of the majority of the members and officers of the united labor movement:

1. American unions "will resist becoming the pawn of a governmental administration, however friendly its impulses." (Page 10)

2. "What has happened in recent years is that politics, although secondary to collective bargaining as a means of achieving goals, is not now

regarded as a necessary evil but rather as an integral part of the labor movement's store of means." (Page 214)

3. "There has been no fundamental deviation from the traditional labor movement policy of 'reward your friends and defeat your enemies.'" (Page 213)

4. "The conspicuous support of Democrats nationally has obscured the considerable extent to which the labor movement has established working relationships with Republicans in traditionally Republican states, on the practical ground that labor organizations will work with whatever party is in power to achieve labor's legitimate ends." (Pages 213, 214)

### **Collective Bargaining**

5. "... a labor party has no appeal to American unions and will not have so long as they are able to continue to better the conditions of their members within the framework of our democratic political economy." (Page 10)

6. "There are no groups of substance and conscience in the labor movement that now advocate classic Marxian socialism. . . . To put it summarily, the prevailing view is that management should manage and that collective bargaining with private employers—public employers, too, if achievable—is the labor movement's primary method of operation." (Pages 215-16)

It is our hope that these few excerpts from Mr. Goldberg's timely and highly authoritative analysis of the AFL-CIO merger and its impli-

cations in the field of political action will whet the appetite of many of our readers—Democrats and Republicans alike—and induce them to secure a copy of the volume for careful study and future reference. Whether or not they agree with all of Mr. Goldberg's conclusions, a careful reading of his remarkably

calm and objective analysis of labor's philosophy of political action will make it easier for them to separate fact from fiction in popular discussions of this highly controversial subject during the next national campaign — which, to everybody's relief, is still four years beyond the horizon.

## The Christian Basis for Social Action

"Why is there such a gulf between the great Protestant tradition of prophetic protest and responsibility and the timidity and inaction of the churches of Jesus Christ? Why so much complacent conformity to the world and so little Christian challenge?"<sup>1</sup>

No simple answers will suffice for Albert T. Rasmussen, Professor of Social Ethics and the Sociology of Religion at Colgate-Rochester Divinity School. The test of Christian living is not mere good deeds "but the direction and quality of our actions," for our "response to the love of God issues in response to the love of neighbor."

Personal influence is good but certainly not a complete expression of Christian living. "We believe that

it is crystal clear that nothing short of a cooperative witness can carry the expression of the Christian faith into the world of events and decisions. This is what is meant by *Christian social action*."

Dr. Rasmussen gives little comfort to those who content themselves with personal faith and individual action. "The most significant decisions are made by groups, boards, committees, staffs, or councils who vote for a policy after deliberation. They are not personal decisions. . . . This is the real meaning of leadership: it is entering and helping our fellows to enter the community of decision before compulsion is upon us. This is the true basis for social action."

The author's view of the new situation confronting the churches is provocative. "A hundred years ago the overwhelming majority of Americans were their own bosses in their own free enterprises. . . . Today, 81

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1. *Christian Social Ethics, Exerting Christian Influence*, by Albert Terrill Rasmussen. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956. \$3.50.



per cent of American workers work for someone else in business, industry, or government; what is more important, they work in vast organizations where the majority labor under orders and make very few decisions." His choice of sub-titles indicates his viewpoint: "Honesty Needs a New Look," "Mammon Stands High in Popularity," "Intimidation in the Name of Freedom."

"The fundamental Christian view is that all men are estranged from God and from fellows and need salvation to be freed from sin and bias and from pride and selfishness." The saved continue to sin but they attempt to live as under the sovereignty of God in the service of the neighbor, in the new community of the Church, finding God as they face "dilemmas and problems demanding moral choice and action."

The author leaves nothing to be desired in his analysis of the weakness of the churches' influence but the chapters on "Relating Faith to Social Action" and "Steps in Building a Church of Influence" are his most helpful and constructive contribution. They present powerful and compelling reasons for participation by Christians and church members in Christian social action.

This is not a how-to-do-it, but a why-to-do-it, book. The church member who has begun to wonder whether there is any Christian reason for getting excited about social issues or whether efforts to mobilize church influence are really worth while will gain new ammunition and drive. There is little sociological or theological jargon in this book. The writing is brisk and challenging.

—RAY GIBBONS

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## TELEVISION AND THE CAMPAIGN

Neither the Republicans nor the Democrats have used television wisely in the case of their five-minute programs. There has been strong viewer resentment against the intrusion of politics on established entertainment shows. In trying not to interfere with a set-owner's pleasure—in itself a diquieting commentary on the nation's political maturity—both parties only succeeded in doing so more than ever. . . . Once the nominations were made television abdicated its journalistic responsibility. Through the direct sale of time the chains virtually allowed the politicians to decide what should, or should not, appear on the screen. The paid political broadcasts are no substitute for independent reporting of the political scene. . . . There has been virtually no reporting in depth, no penetration beneath the surface events.

—JACK GOULD in the *New York Times*

# WORKSHOP

Edited by  
Herman F. Reissig

## Clothing for India

Wouldn't this be a good practical project for your church? India needs clothing. Church World Service is making shipments and is anxious to send all the good used clothing it can lay hands on. Your young people's organization might sponsor a collection—and there is no reason for confining the appeal to the church: the whole community could be asked to participate. Write to Church World Service, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y., for the address of your nearest collection center. This center will then give you further instructions.

## Galen Weaver Says:

"I think the moving picture, *The Barrier* is good. Church leaders will find it helpful in preparing their people to accept a changing neighborhood." If you wish to use the film here's the information: 16 mm; black and white; 28 minutes; rental, \$8.00. It's about one Harry Sadler whose son-in-law convinced him that what he practiced during the week did not fit in well with what he used to teach a class on Sunday. So Mr. Sadler stopped objecting to the new housing project at the end of his closed street. Order from Family Films, 1364 N. Van Ness Avenue, Hollywood 28, Calif.

## Want to Travel?

If Europe is too far away for your pocketbook or your time, why not Mexico? Next August 12-28 Galen Weaver (this issue of *WORKSHOP* seems to have a lot about that man!) will lead a seminar to Mexico. The group will meet in Mexico City, spending five days there. A chartered bus will take the travellers around the country for the remaining eleven days. Aside from the scenery in this fascinating country, there will be a chance to study the economic, political, religious, and family life of the country. Protestant missionary work will also be observed. The editor of *WORKSHOP* spent a few days in Mexico City in 1940 and he would dearly like to go again. Write to Galen Weaver for further information.

## Jackie Robinson, etc.

During the World Series my wife and I were talking about that great baseball player, Jackie Robinson. Neither of us could remember in what year he joined the Dodgers. I had forgotten, too, that he had promised Manager Branch Rickey not to fight back if abused by players who didn't want to play with or against a Negro. During lunch today I read an exciting little pamphlet that told the whole story and much

else besides. It would be hard to imagine a better piece of writing on race relations to put into the hands of young people or to give to that man in your church who finds the mixing of races hard to take. It's about Negroes, Jews, and other minority-group members in baseball and other sports. The title: "Who's on First?" Twenty-seven short pages, with some striking cartoons. Published by Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N.Y., 25 cents.

### **For Democrats and Republicans**

This would be an excellent time to write a short letter to your newly-elected senator or congressman. Congratulate him—even if you didn't vote for him. Then tell him what you hope he will stand for in two or three areas. Tell him you will be following his work in Washington with great interest. You could do worse than enclose a copy of the General Council's resolutions on social issues, calling the legislator's special attention to one or more of them. For example: "I hope you will work for a larger program of economic and technical aid to the underprivileged areas. In this connection let me call your attention to a resolution adopted by the General Council of Congregational Christian Churches which you will find on page 11 of the enclosed copy of the resolutions."

### **Not in the Dictionary**

To be objective in one's opinions and comments is, of course, a worthy goal. In some areas of science and technology an almost complete ob-

jectivity is possible. But honesty compels the admission that, usually, when people ask us to be objective in our discussions of social issues they are really merely asking us to move a little closer to their own opinion. The following definition, while not in the dictionary, may help us to avoid claiming too much for our own conclusions and also prevent us from being too frightened when we are criticized for not being more objective: An objective person is a person whose bias is the same as mine.

### **We Feel Pretty Good**

This is being written on the afternoon of October 17. A few hours ago we adjourned the tenth annual World Order and United Nations Seminar, presented in New York by the CSA, with the cooperation of the Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. Someone was saying only a few weeks ago that it is more difficult than it was a few years ago to arouse interest in international affairs. We feel pretty good because ninety-two people (the largest number since the seminars began) came from thirteen states to spend three days in discussions on world affairs. To mention just one speaker, members of the seminar will not soon forget the moving talk on United Nations technical assistance by Mr. Vernon Duckworth-Barker of the UN staff. Nor will they forget that they watched the representatives of eighty-two nations (the largest international conference ever assembled) debating the proposed charter



of the United Nations Atomic Energy Agency. Ten speakers kept our minds racing. We ended, as we always do, with a lively discussion on "International Affairs in Your Church and Community." A good many people are not interested in anything outside their purely private affairs. Sure! But the attendance at this seminar and the quite evident enthusiasm of its members leave us feeling far from pessimistic. If our people seem indifferent, if they stay away from your meetings—well, don't waste time bemoaning "indifference." It's just possible that a little more imagination and energy in planning and promoting will give you more of the response you think there should be.

### **Name of Church Withheld**

We won't name the church because we hope to have a fuller story for a later issue. For the present, what do you think of this? One church has, since December, 1950, been asking for 100 copies of each issue of *Social Action*. And now comes a letter from the minister of this church asking that we send him each month 300 copies of the magazine. Doesn't that make you feel your church could do better?

### **Ray Gibbons Says:**

"If you are really interested in what's going on in our world, if you can get away for five weeks next summer, and if you can somehow find about \$1600, why not plan to join us in next summer's travel and study seminar to France, Germany, Russia, Finland, Sweden, Holland, and England? Let me know if we should

put your name on the mailing list for fuller information." P.S.: Ray Gibbons did not exactly say this, but it's about what he would have said if the editor of *WORKSHOP* had been able to get in touch with him. To which we may add, if you are a layman and cannot go yourself, how about starting a little campaign to send your minister?

### **Better than a Carpet Factory**

I have nothing against carpet factories but . . . During a ministers' meeting some years ago one of the pastors arose and said: "I am sorry that I have to leave early; I promised the ladies of my church that I would go with them to the carpet factory." We knew what that meant. The factory had promised to give one dollar, or something like that, for each woman from the church who visited the factory on that day. Advertising for the carpet manufacturer and a little extra income for the church! Happily, there is less and less of that sort of thing in church finance.

From Mrs. A. E. Nuquist of Burlington we learn that the Women's Fellowships in the Rutland, Addison, Champlain, Washington, and Lamoille districts of Vermont had a better idea. Last March 13, fifty-two women from fourteen Women's Fellowships visited the Brandon State School for delinquent boys and girls. The women saw for themselves what is being done to re-train young people who have fallen into trouble. On April 24, twenty women from six Vermont churches spent a day at the Waterbury State Hospital. *WORKSHOP* does not know what the women did with the information

they received on these two visits. That might make another story. We think it's a mighty good idea for church people to get acquainted with their state institutions. Could you organize similar visits to institutions in your state?

### Thanks for Reports

We wish some of you who read this could spend an hour or two in the CSA office looking over the big file of reports that come in from local, Association, and State social action committees. Not all of them contain a story that can be used in WORKSHOP but they are interesting as evidence of the work being done. Right under my eyes at the moment are reports or bulletins from: the Mayflower Church, Minneapolis; the Genesee Valley Association committee (New York State); the Bay Shore Church, Long Beach, California; the New Jersey Area of the Middle Atlantic Conference, the Social Action Committee of the Northern California Conference. Does your Association or Conference Committee send out a regular bulletin? Things begin to happen in areas where a committee keeps everlastingly at it.

### Sorry!

Some of you have been asking for the study packet on "American Responsibility in the Contemporary World," promised for last fall. For a number of reasons the packet is not ready. It will be ready about January first. The Lord sometimes turns to good account the delinquencies of social action secretaries, and in this case we think the packet will

be more useful than it would have been had we prepared it on schedule. Send along your order (\$1.00) and plan to use the packet in February and March. If you have a Lenten institute in your church you might use it at that time.

### Telegram—Mr. President

When the CSA directors were meeting with the Commission on Christian Social Action in Cleveland, Ohio, October 30–November 1, President Eisenhower reported to the nation on the Iron Curtain country revolts and the Middle East situation. The following telegram was sent to the president and copies were mailed to Secretary Dulles and Ambassador Lodge:

THE COMMISSION ON CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION OF THE EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH AND THE COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, MEETING IN JOINT SESSION IN CLEVELAND, OHIO, HEARTILY COMMEND YOUR REPORT TO THE NATION, ESPECIALLY YOUR STRONG SUPPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND YOUR PLEDGE TO CONTINUE TO SEEK PEACE AND JUSTICE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

Huber F. Klemme, Director CCSA  
Ray Gibbons, Director, CSA

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